JPRS 81421

2 August 1982

## **USSR** Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS
No. 1284

19980918 141

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for public releases Distribution Unlimited

**FBIS** 

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

9 41 30,3 JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

## PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semimonthly by the NTIS, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

# USSR REPORT POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1284

## CONTENTS

INTERNA	ATIONAL	
	Zhukov Hits Japan's 'Pacific Community' Plan (Yuriy Zhukov; PRAVDA, 4 Jul 82)	]
NATIONA	AL	
	New Deputy Chief Editor Named At 'Izvestiya' (ZHURNALIST, Apr 82)	2
	New Soviet Almanac on Television Reviewed (V. Nevskiy; ZHURNALIST, Apr 82)	
	Husband's Book Collecting Draws Wife's Ire (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 9 Jul 82)	(
	Obkom Secretary on Religious 'Fashion' Among Youth (V. Ostrozhinskiy; NAUKA I RELIGIYA, Apr 82)	,
	Orthodox Church's Use of Pre-1917 Russian Philosophers Decried (L. Ye. Shaposhnikov; FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI, May-Jun 82)	1
	Strength, Role of Popular Traditions Stressed (Mustay Karim Interview; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 Jul 82)	1
	Znaniye Society Workers Scored for Failing to Improve Lectures (0. Kazanli; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 4 Jul 82)	1
	Nature of Contemporary Nationalism Analyzed  (N. A. Barkovich: FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI, May-Jun 82)	2

## ŔEGIONAL

	Tajik Land Reclamation Minister Discusses Problems, Goals (Kh. Nasredinov; KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 6 Jun 82)	27
REGION	IAL	
	Tajik Supreme Soviet Discusses Persistence of Old Rituals (V. Surkov; IZVESTIYA, 8 Jun 82)	30
	Russian Leadership of All Slavs Urged in 17th Century Book (E. Zhulinskaya; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 13 May 82)	31
	Kazakh Supreme Soviet Meets in Regular Session (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 22 May 82)	33
	Adjarian Rayon Officials Discuss New Agro-System in Action (Editorial Report)	35
	Georgian Farm Expert Discusses Role of Incentives, Pay (Editorial Report)	35
	Election of Georgian Soviets, People's Judges Explained (Editorial Report)	36

ZHUKOV HITS JAPAN'S 'PACIFIC COMMUNITY' PLAN

PM140837 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jul 82 p 5

[Political observer Yuriy Zhukov article: "About a Dangerous Plan"]

[Text] The attention of political observers has been drawn to the recent speech of Japanese Prime Minister Z. Suzuki in Honolulu, where, getting away from the acute problems troubling his country's people—primarily economic problems—he expounded the concept of creating a so-called "Pacific community."

Z. Suzuki called for "mutual cooperation among Pacific states" in order, as he loudly declared, to make the 21st century a "Pacific era." Here he pointed to the "role of the United States in maintaining stability in the region," while at the same time making it clear that Japan intends to take on the role of the chief U.S. partner in this "mutual cooperation."

The bid made in Honolulu to create a "Pacific community" has evinced a very guarded reaction in Asian and Pacific countries where, as the newspaper YOMIURI recalled, people have not forgotten the notorious doctrine of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," which was proclaimed in the thirties and the attempts to implement which ended so tragically for this entire vast region and, not least, for Japan itself.

People in Tokyo have remembered that the late prime minister, M. Ohira, spoke of creating a "Pacific community," but he confined himself just to arguments about "deepening mutual understanding by means of economic and cultural cooperation." But the present premier, as the same YOMIURI has pointed out, "emphasized...the political aspects and questions of security."

It is natural that anxious journalists began trying to guess the source of these trends. And then many at once recalled U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger's trip to Japan, South Korea and the Philippines back in March, during which this indefatigable champion of the "tough" policy was trying to find new elements of the Pentagon's global strategy.

NEW YORK TIMES military commentator R. Halloran reported that Weinberger "acted very persistently in unofficial talks" in an attempt to secure those countries' support for the "new American strategy." "At approximately the same time,"

this well-informed commentator wrote, "Weinberger approved the defense department's secret strategic guidelines for the next 5 years, in which this policy is set forth more concretely than in those sections which have been made public."

What, then, is it all about? It turns out that the Pentagon is "shifting the emphasis in planning and in using the armed forces" to Southwest Asia and the Indian Ocean region, directing its crack army, navy and air formations to the region of the Persian Gulf and India, while in operations in Northeast Asia it intends to use the Japanese and South Koreans and, if this is successful, other Asiatics as cannon fodder.

This is what the NEW YORK TIMES article says: "To implement this strategy, officials say, the American administration is demanding (!) that Japan and South Korea broaden their pledges to ensure security in Northeast Asia. The administration intends particularly to turn U.S. relations with Japan into an active military partnership."

Excuse me, the reader will protest, but the Japanese Constitution, which was dictated, incidentally, by American General MacArthur after Japan signed the act of surrender, prohibits the Japanese from creating armed forces—all the more so for conducting military operations overseas!

But what does the Pentagon care about the Japanese Constitution? The United States, as is known recently demanded the extension of Japan's "self-defense" zone to a radius of...1,000 miles. Consequently, this zone embraces the lands of neighboring states against which it waged (and lost!) a war.

"In order to enable the American armed forces to switch their attention to a southerly direction," R. Halloran reports, "the United States, as the guidelines on questions of defense state, must 'transform our relations with Japan into an active defense partnership in which Japan will significantly build up its defense potential.'"

But what of its constitution?--the reader will ask once again. Well, American generals will reply, if it prohibits such a "buildup," so much the worse for the constitution. The Pentagon intends to disregard it.

But this is still not everything. The United States' "new strategy," so the NEW YORK TIMES commentator writes, provides that the American administration "also plans to strengthen its military ties with China," as well as intending to "help strengthen and unite ASEAN (an organization of a number of Southeast Asian countries pursuing economic aims—Yu. Zh.) and at the same time develop the member states' potential for giving the United States support in transferring its troops from the West Pacific to the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf region."

It is natural that Japan's ruling circles have not the slightest intention of pulling chestnuts from the fire for the United States by taking a tremendous risk just to satisfy the Pentagon's wishes. They associate their own

far-reaching plans with the idea of creating a "Pacific community," although they are not revealing them in full for the time being.

The newspaper TOKYO SHIMBUN reported 18 June that "Premier Suzuki couched his speech in very cautious tones, clearly taking into account the ASEAN countries' (anxious) reaction. The states belonging to (this association, as evidenced by the recent Bangkok seminar on questions of cooperation in the Pacific region, doubt the possibility of combining ASEAN neutrality and Pacific solidarity."

Both Washington's "new strategy" and the idea of a "Pacific community" constitute far-reaching plans whose implementation would still further increase the threat to the cause of peace in Asia. There is food for thought here for the leaders of those countries out of which, as R. Halloran puts it, the United States is trying to "create a diffuse (?) coalition" to think about.

CSO: 1807/126

NEW DEPUTY CHIEF EDITOR NAMED AT 'IZVESTIYA'

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 4, Apr 82 pp 76-77

/ Information item: "Appointments"\_/

/ Excerpts / Valentin Akimovich Arkhangel'skiy has been approved as deputy chief editor of the newspaper IZVESTIYA.

Born in 1928. Graduated from the Tashken Pedagogical Institute. Began to work in the press in 1949 as literary associate of the Leningradskaya Oblast youth newspaper SMENA. From 1952-1960--department chief, deputy editor, and editor of the newspaper KOMSOMOLETS UZBEKISTANA. In 1960-1963--deputy editor of the republic newspaper PRAVDA VOSTOKA, then secretary of the Tashkent gorkom of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, and from 1966-1970--editor of the newspaper PRAVDA VOSTOKA. Since 1971--member of the editorial board of the newspaper IZVESTIYA and chief editor of the illustrated edition to IZVESTIYA--NEDELYA.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda", "Zhurnalist", 1982

2959

CSO: 1800/678

#### NEW SOVIET ALMANAC ON TELEVISION REVIEWED

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 4, Apr 82 p 52

\_\_Review by V. Nevskiy of book "Televideniye Vchera, Segodnya, Zavtra"
/ Television Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow / compiled by E. Yefimov,
Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1981, 271 pages /

Text This is the name of the almanac which it is planned to publish every year. The article "From the Compiler" which opens its first issue provides a thorough review of our domestic scholarly and critical literature on television which has been published during the last 20 years.

In the section "Problems of History and Theory" there are the articles "Two Televisions--Two Cultures" by E. Yefimov, "Methodological Problems of Studying the Mass Information Media" by E. Bagirov, "Television and the Transformation of Storytelling" by K. Razlogov, "Landmarks of the Road Covered" by A. Yurovskiy (on the experience connected with creating the multi-series television films "Chronicle of a Half Century" and "Our Biography"), and "The Aesthetic Foundations of Television Reproduction" by U. Yu. Bogomolov.

The second section, "Practice. Expertise. Creative Laboratory," consists of the articles "What is Andronikov's Secret" by N. Krymova and "The Artistic". Principles of the Musical Accompaniment of Documentary Broadcasts" by V. Semenov.

The articles "Television for Each and All" by U. Yu. Vorontsov and I. Nalimov (the prospects for the development of television) and "Under the Sign of TV" by V. Vil'chek comprise the section Television and the Viewer."

The fourth section "Television Abroad" contains the article by N. Golyadkin "The Tele-Business and Science."

The almanac also contains the television play by the English dramatist Clive Exton "Without a Definite Residence."

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda", "Zhurnalist", 1982

2959

CSO: 1800/677

HUSBAND'S BOOK COLLECTING DRAWS WIFE'S IRE

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jul 82 p 12

[Letter to the editor: "An Uncut Book"]

[Text] Already for many years my husband has enjoyed collecting books. Our small apartment has turned into an affiliate of the scientific library. Books are everywhere: on the shelves, on the nighttables, on the table, even on the bed. It is not only books, which one can read during a free moment, but literature from various branches of knowledge, handbooks, encyclopedias, dictionaries, etc. Books come by mail from various cities or they are purchased in book stores.

Naturally neither he, nor I, nor our son are able to read all of these. My husband barely has time to read belles-lettres or to glance at the periodicals to which we subscribe in a sufficient quantity. The books are acquired, listed in a special notebook and left to sit.

On holidays, as thanks, he sends presents to the salespeople in the book stores but he has never even given me a bottle of perfume! I am deeply in debt! Our son needs skates, sports equipment, fruit and I am not able to buy all this.

The question is: what is more important? Books, which no one reads and never will have time to read, or food, clothing, the theater? And perhaps these books are very necessary to someone else.

We already have 2000 volumes. Aren't these enough to provide reading to the end of one's life? Or perhaps I'm wrong?

CSO: 1800-932-P

## OBKOM SECRETARY ON RELIGIOUS 'FASHION' AMONG YOUTH

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 4, Apr 82 pp 23-24

/ Article by V. Ostrozhinskiy, Secretary of the Zhitomirskiy Obkom of the Ukraine: "Principles and Fashion" /

Unfortunately, I myself have met lovers of such ornaments. Certain girls even deliberately put the cross on top of their dresses or sweaters. One of them once admitted: "I do not believe in any god. But the cross is gold." And a lad who was tanning himself on the beach and on whose chest there was a tatooed icon containing the Virgin and Child explained: "This does not say anything about my convictions. It's just fashionable." I have met the kinds of people who for the sake of fashion have travelled to remote out-of-the-way villages is search of icons. And if you reproach them, they only smile condescendingly: You do not understand anything--It is the fashion now!

The fashion. . . . The writer Yuriy Bondarev observes: "Fashion epidemics, of course, do not threaten peoples' health as the Hong Kong flu does; however, they poison what is most valuable and most irreplaceable. From servants things turn into masters and deaden the soul, and in this way primitive thinking arises, "thingified people" and "humanized things." In calling the personal cross a "trinket" it is not difficult to forget the proud heroism of the best representatives of human kind for whom the struggle for truth was by no means an entertainment, and who, if needed, gave up what was most precious in this struggle--life."

But where do all these icons and crosses come from in such numbers? The enswer is simple: Demand breeds supply. Sometime ago icons, Bibles, and even penny crosses began to disappear from churches located in the environs of Zhitomir. Soon after the thieves were caught with the evidence. They were led by the 30-year old student of the Leningrad Spiritual Seminary

Aleksey Klyachenko who was born in the village of Ivankovichi in Zhitomirskaya Oblast.

People like Klyachenko are brought into the world by an unhealthy demand. And this demand is one of the vivid manifestations of philistinism. Once in a commission store in Zhitomir I saw a picture. I did not even understand right away that this was a copy of Raphael's "Sistine Madonna," so distorted was the great work. Why had the store decided to play the role of the middle-man between the talentless copier and the undemanding buyer? The answer is the same: There is a demand for it.

Incidentally, sometimes industry throws some souvenirs our way which, in my view, are closer to religion than to art. . . .

So, no matter how the discussion of the cross as a clothing ornament or the icon as a detail of an apartment interior may develop, in the end, we will inevitably come to what is most important: to a conversation about the spiritual world of our contemporary, about his worldview and his convictions.

How does it happen: all of us have studied in the Soviet school, but have acquired such different views of life? The answer here is not a simple one. There are many reasons, but, I think we also have here the fault of our schools which still far from always develop firm atheistic convictions in the pupils.

I will never forget my youthful impression of my first reading of E. Voynich's novel "The Gadfly:" I was especially moved by the episode in which the young and naive student Arthur Berton, shaken by the hypocrisy of the clergy, in an outburst of despair smashes a crucifix. With enormous power Voynich shows that only after freeing one's self from the fetters of religion is a person able to become a real fighter and the true maker of his own happiness.

And what does our youth know about this book? A questionnaire conducted with the senior grades of several schools showed that only a few of the pupils had read "The Gadfly," and that the majority had no acquaintance at all with scientific atheistic literature.

Or take, for example, the quite current opinion that religious rites and holidays are only harmless "remnants" of folk traditions. It is especially sad that even some old Komsomol members and communists believe this. "If a communist" Yem. Yaroslavskiy has written, "pays tribute to religious prejudices, his proofs against them will never be convincing. Of course, to such a communist it can be said: "Drop it, my friend, you yourself have icons and your wife had your child baptised in a church." The task of a communist consists precisely in his being the advanced, most conscious, and most revolutionary element and in having his family follow. To shut one's

eyes to the priesthood is dangerous and harmful. And when the philistines respect you for this, then you do not need the respect of the party because this is a respect for a lack of staunchness or . . . for a lack of principle."

And let us take contemporary literature. Do all writers always show the role of religion in mankind's past correctly? Yes, and television, unfortunately, is still not up to the mark here.

We also have omissions in the education of children. It would seem that from early years what is good and what is bad is explained to each of us. Giving us knowledge of subjects, teachers, older comrades, and lecturers also speak about the essence of religion and its place in our society. But knowledge is not yet conviction, especially if this knowledge is superficial. This is exactly what happens when the education of the younger generation is given to inexperienced people or is conducted in a formal manner.

Everybody knows, of course, that fashion in general and the fashion for crosses in particular is a transient phenomenon. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that it also bears witness not only to a specific influence, domestic or flown in from abroad, but also to the views of the person who mindlessly follows it. The fashion for icons and crosses is a clear confirmation of this. It shows that we still have miscalculations and unsolved problems in our atheistic education, and, yes, in our ideological work as a whole. "It is dangerous even temporarily, even at individual sectors to forget about the ideological principle in our state and social life. . . . ". . . There is no vacuum in the present-day world: In those places where we are complacent our ideological opponents act"--L. I. Brezhnev wrote in "Reminiscences."

The decree of the CC CPSU "On an Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" directs us toward the elimination of such shortcomings. In particular, it demands that the scientific worldview be formed in an overall manner.

In conclusion, it has to be noted again that in and of itself atheistic educational law cannot solve the problem of "fashion and principles" about which we spoke in the beginning. The problem, as is known, requires an overall approach to the formation of a person's views. And this is all the more important as there is still another aspect in this problem--"prestige." It is not an accident that this word has been put in quotation marks: We are talking about a falsely understood prestige, about the fact that certain people see the only way of affirming themselves" in the possession of things which others do not have. One champion of this "prestige" seeks out furniture which is in super-short supply, others furnish their apartment with crystal, while still others wear a cross or hang icons on their walls. . . Externally, it would seem that these are completely different aspirations, but they have the same essence: to elevate

and affirm one's "I" with the help of things. Some boy or girl puts a cross on and thinks to have already risen above his or her contemporaries: "I have it, but they do not!" This, in essence, is the entire credo. . . .

A person who has firm ideological convictions would never put a cross on his neck as an ornament. For this sign is inseparable from religion. And this must not be forgotten.

The level on which the self-affirmation of the individual takes place depends, of course, upon many factors. But I would like to call attention to one circumstance: Crosses are worn basically by adolescents. I think that this does confirm the proposition that it is with the ideological education of the younger generation that the work to form the new man has to begin. And it has to be conducted consistently, energetically, and with all means.

Here, we must always remember the words of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress: "We possess great material and spiritual possibilities for the ever fuller development of the individual, and we shall increase them in the future. But, at the same time, it is important for every person to know how to use them intelligently. And this, in the final analysis, depends on what the interests and needs of the individual are. This is why our party sees their active and directed formation as one of the important tasks of social policy."

COPYRIGHT: Zhurnal "Nauka i religiya", 1982

2959 1800/647

ORTHODOX CHURCH'S USE OF PRE-1917 RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHERS DECRIED

Moscow FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI in Russian No 3, May-Jun 82 pp 114-123

[Article by L. Ye. Shaposhnikov, candidate in philosophical sciences, docent: "The Social and Philosophical Views of M. M. Tareyev and Contemporary Orthodox Theology"]

[Excerpts] In a socialist society, as a result of the radical social transformations, the social roots of religion are undermined, the sphere of influence of the "false worldview" on the socium is narrowed, and the number of believers decreases. The phenomenon of secularization compels the church to actively seek ways to save religion. Toward this end, use is made also of "rational intellectual constructions"; for example, the conception of "religious evolutionism" (see: L. Ye. Shaposhnikov, "Vladimir Solov'yev and Contemporary Orthodox Philosophy of History," FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI No 2, 1978 pp 107-114), and various types of irrationalism (see: M. P. Novikov, "The Blind Alleys of Orthodox Modernism," Moscow, 1979). An analysis of the theological literature allows the conclusion to be drawn that irrational tendencies are becoming stronger in the ideology of contemporary Orthodoxy. Confessions are increasingly made in the religious publications that "a rational interpretation of theology long ago exhausted itself by laying bare not only its profound inadequacy, but also its fundamental erroneousness." (ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHII, No 3, 1976, p 64). Such confessions, in our view, are explained by the fact that the process of the modernization of religious ideology which was undertaken by the representatives of the Church in the 1960's was accompanied by the preaching of an "intelligent faith" and by demands for a "conscious assimilation of religious truths." However, these views soon revealed their danger for the religious worldview. For, on the one hand, many Orthodox believers, especially elderly ones with a lower educational level, reacted negatively to the "rationalistic innovations," since their religious needs were more in accord with the traditional Orthodox thesis: "One can believe only in the incomprehensible"; on the other hand, even those believers who accepted the strengthening of rational elements in theology began to disturb clergymen, since under present-day conditions it is increasingly difficult to "validate the existence of God" by means of scholastic constructions. Fearing that an "intelligent faith" would not withstand the onslaught of the "avalanche of rational knowledge," Orthodox ideologists are putting their emphasis on the role of "apophatism as the basic method of Orthodox theologizing" (Ibid.,

No 6, 1978, p 74). For this reason, it is not accidental that contemporary theologians are studying the works of M. Tareyev, P. Florenskiy, V. Losskiy, and others. The theologians borrow from the "classics of religious intuitionism" above all the doctrine of "mystical intuition" which is opposed to speculative thought and is a consequence of 'man's personal meeting with Christ." Discrediting reason and knowledge which is obtained by rational methods, the ideologists of Orthodoxy, following their predecessors, state that if a man is "without living communion with the Holy Spirit" and "has come to know all there is on earth, he would not acquire value before God" (Ibid., No 5, 1976, p 28). But contemporary theologians understand very well that "it is impossible to compel the mind not to have any thoughts." Therefore, in order for the human mind "not to be distracted by harmful questions" and not to give in to the "influence of disbelief," it has to be given "useful work." Such "saving works," in the opinion of the clergy, are above all "incessant prayers" and regular participation in Church services and in the mysteries and rites. The liturgy is declared to be the chief "means of the formation of Orthodox spirituality" and the "center of religious life." This kind of attention to cult actions is not accidental, for they create the illusion of communion with the supernatural and, as a result, there arises a definite psychological attitude which suppresses all doubts about the "truthfulness of the existence of God." In addition, as N. S. Gordiyenko notes, recently the representatives of the clergy have been strengthening the emphasis on the mystical elements of theology (see: N. S. Gordiyenko, "From the Positions of Mysticism," NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 11, 1980, pp 24-27).

In the opinion of theologians, the reading and study of the Sacred Writings is also an important channel for gaining access to "Orthodox spirituality." Ideas have appeared in contemporary Orthodox exegesis which are consonant with the views of M. Tareyev. Theologians give up the literal understanding of the Biblical text and acknowledge that many places in the Holy Books are the fruit not of divine but of human creation. For this reason it is necessary to establish "the border between the dogmatic and the research approach to the Bible." While specially trained theologians can and should reveal the "human elements in the Sacred Writings," believers have to concentrate their attention on comprehending the "essence of the great truths." These truths do not relate to scientific propositions, since modern theology "does not regard the Bible as an encyclopedia of scientific data about all of the processes in the world and about historical events" (ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHII, No 3, 1977, p 13). They comprise the "content of faith," and an evaluation of "religious knowledge" cannot be approached from the point of view of reason. The difficult to understand and even incomprehensible "divine truths" must not be subjected to doubt; they "have to be believed in," and then the individual will be able "to comprehend the heavenly while still on earth" (Ibid.).

Thus, the ideologists of contemporary Orthodoxy are striving to preserve the religious worldview above all by means of subordinating the reason of the believer to blind faith. At the same time, theologians are aware of the fact that the followers of Orthodoxy of the second half of the 20th century are

distrustful of maxims in the spirit of Bishop Feofan (Govorov) who believed that all attempts by the "sinful mind" to comprehend the truth "come from Satan and his spirits." [Feofan (Govorov), "The Path to Salvation," St. Petersburg, 1875, p 111] It is for this reason that they turn to the refined methods of validating the primacy of faith over reason which were worked out by the "religious intuitionists." Thus, following M. Tareyev, the ideologists of contemporary Orthodoxy believed that the life of the individual transpires in two spheres: the vertical (communion with God) and the horizontal (communion with people). And while the method of cognition in the first sphere is "mystical intuition," in the second it is "rational analysis" which takes account of the "present moment of history" and the complex interweaving of material and spiritual factors. This kind of eclecticism helps theologians to give "persuasive" answers to believers regarding the important questions of our time. Clergymen themselves admit that in analyzing such problems as a "just society," "peaceful coexistence," "economic crisis," and so forth it is insufficient to refer to the "will of God," and it is necessary to examine the specific nature of the social organism, "the place of man in society and the interconnection between the individual and society" (ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHII, No 10, 1976, p 52). However, from the point of view of the religions worldview the religious and the social spheres of life are not of equal value. Theologians constantly emphasize: "Christ the Savior persuades people that they should first of all seek . . . that which is truly eternal and sacred for man. He destroys the false idea regarding the value or earthly goods" (Ibid., p 73). Earthly life, in their opinion, has value only insofar as it serves transcendental goals. For this reason, the ideologists of Orthodoxy call for social and humanitarian problems to be regarded "with respect to the use of the commodity world from the perspective of human salvation and divinization" (Ibid., No 6, 1979, p 58). This kind of subordination of the earthly to the heavenly leads to the conclusion regarding the superiority of the irrational and mystical path of knowledge over rational gnoseological constructions. The first path gives answers to "ontological questions" and satisfies the "supreme human potentiality," while the second only marks off the coordinates of temporal earthly life.

If the above-described views are compared with the basic ideas of the theology of M. M. Tareyev we will find many similar features. But the most important common aspect is the constatation of the primacy of the mystical over reason, the religious over the secular, and the heavenly over the earthly. The refined methods of defending religion, and the rejection of the most odious Orthodox views does not change the negative influence of the "false worldview" on society. A religious understanding of the world leads to a devaluation of real earthly values, and dooms a person to social passivity and to the sterile serving of religious illusions. At the same time, the use of the theological legacy of the "religious intuitionists" for apologetic goals is helping to a certain extent to preserve the influence of religious ideology on believers. Consequently, a critical analysis of the philosophical and sociological views of M. Tareyev is not only of theoretical but also of practical importance, since it helps to increase the effectiveness of the criticism of contemporary Orthodox ideology.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Vysshaya shkola", "Filosofskiye nauki", 1982

2959

CSO: 1800/649

STRENGTH, ROLE OF POPULAR TRADITIONS STRESSED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Jul 82 p 4

 $\overline{I}$ nterview with Mustay Karim, poet and Hero of Socialist Labor, by correspondent  $\overline{M}_{\bullet}$  Merzabekov, date and place not specified  $\overline{I}$ 

/Text/ The discussion of rites, traditions and holidays which was carried on the "In the Distance" page, generated a lot of mail: it is clear that readers are deeply interested in this topic. Continuing the dicussion today, our own correspondent, M. Merzabekov, talks with Mustay Karim, poet and Hero of Socialist Labor.

Question Today many of the old rites are being revived. Is this support of former traditions for the sake of "national color" not something artificial?

 $\overline{A}$ nswer In no way. Only that which has always had life among the people can be revived.

Labor undoubtedly created man, but the ability to create holidays elevated him. I see a manifestation of human spirituality in that distant dance around the fire. And dance was born, I think, when our forefathers first felt the urge to express the state of the soul. And it was definitely called forth by joy rather than by the results of the hunt....

I remember that in my native village of Klyash, which stands on the river Dema, there were two spring holidays. As soon as the ice began to run, all the people hurried up the mountain to greet the spring floods. With the water, life came to the fields. And that is why there was a strong desire among the people to admire the overflow waters. And a week later there was a farewell to the floods. It, also had its own significance: once the great waters had been seen off, it was time to go into the fields for sowing.

Throughout the labor and toil of the harvest work, there was the expectation of the "Sabantuy." The young people prepared for it all year. Young men went to the Urals to work in the forests: they absolutely had to earn enough for new clothes for the Sabantuy: boots, shirts and jackets had to be bought. The girls sewed themselves new outfits, and the winners received prizes. All the

prizes were made with their own hands. And the long labors and the care were all for the sake of the two-day holiday: one spent in your own village and one in the neighboring one. But the waiting and preparations were worth it. Holidays of this kind enriched life and brought people closer together. Holidays, after all, are never celebrated in isolation.

In our village, as throughout the republic, there have always existed various ways in which people help each other--"ume," it is called. Sometimes an entire village will get together to put up a house for someone, or raise a fence, or assist someone in another way. There is, for example, "tule umekhe," when all the girls and women gather and roll felt for someone while singing and telling jokes. Throughout the world man has always given animation to work by doing it jointly; he has raised it to the level of a holiday. Before collectivization I recall that people in the village helped each other in turn during the harvest time; one day they mowed one person's field and the next day someone else's field. I was 10 years old, but I recalled this custom so vividly that I described it later in the book "Dolgoye-dolgoye detstvo"  $\overline{\text{Long}}$ , Long Childhood $\overline{\text{Long}}$ . This work was striking, and the excitement spread to everyone: who could mow the most cleanly, the most elegantly, the most quickly? And, by the way, if there had not been traditions of this kind, people would not have gone along with collectivization as they did in our areas. Although they were peasant farmers who worked their own holdings, they were also drawn toward collective labor and social contact during work was for them a necessity....

There was another tradition of this kind which existed in our part of the wordd. Someone is weaving a wattle fence. A neighbor goes by or even sometimes a person who is barely an acquaintance, but he does not merely wish the person 'May God help you," he stops, pounds in a peg or weaves one or two rows. I want to talk about this in particular because it is when we forget about good traditions that we encounter bitter things. Imagine that a not-so-young woman is standing by a road in the rain voicing the hope that someone will give her a lift. But the cars go by one after another. The people behind the wheel think that there is obviously nothing wrong with what they are doing. They would pick up the old lady but it is raining and the passenger will mess up the inside of the car... But the grandfather of that automobile driver would definitely have taken the old woman into his cart being pulled by a nag, and if it was difficult for the horse, he would have gotten down and walked himself, but he would have given the old lady a ride.

 $\overline{\mathbb{Q}}$ uestion Mustafa Safich, you correctly complain about the loss of certain good traditions. But time inevitably brings changes in our habits.

Manswer? Yes, time sweeps away some of the old customs. If the oldest brother died, his wife had to marry the younger brother; at one time there was some kind of common sense reason for that. If the widow left the house, she took with her all the cattle which she had brought with her. Such customs have been forgotten. And we are not inclined to regret them. But we need some things from the past today. And it is no sin to show concern for the revival of what has been forgotten.

I remember a good custom from my childhood: the oldest of the relatives invited all the younger ones to visit once a year. This was in winter and the guests stayed for five to seven days. My father, as the oldest man in his clan, did this too. All my father's sisters and nieces arrived with their husbands and children, as well as his brothers and the members of their households. Today I cannot remember where they all found room to sleep and whether they all fit around the dinner table for a meal. But I do remember clearly how we, the large crowd of children, enjoyed ourselves, how much fum we found these annual "gatherings" and how we looked forward to them. And the older people had endless conversations although no vodka was drunk. Of course, no one father would have been able to afford these "balls." The guests brought with them whatever food they could: some brought meat, some brought wine, others butter or flour. And when has each of us, people of today, visited our native village and when have we sat down to eat with relatives?

 $\overline{\mathbb{Q}}$ uestion Business, business... It is no accident that we say after all, speed, stress....

Answer I would not attempt to use the pace of life to justify our lack of attention to each other. Further, with all the speed of our era, we do maintain social interaction. Only good family ties are frequently replaced by social interaction based on calculation or for reasons of prestige. But when trouble appears, it is relatives, even forgotten ones, who come to our assistance first.

The wisdom of those who lived before us is preserved in traditions, and it is for this reason that it is important to consider carefully and study this heritage.

I remember my father: having finished the day in the fields, he would sit down on the edge of a furrow and carefully shake bits of earth from his bast shoes. And it seemed to me that he was sorry to remove this handful of black earth from the allotment. And maybe it was so. For he loved the earth... And it was not without purpose that many rites and customs of the people were related to the earth. Recall the "karga butkakhy," literally "rook kasha." When there was a dry summer, people went into the woods, cooked kasha, ate some themselves and treated the birds. It is easier to have hope together. And it is easier to bear trouble together as well. Today this custom has completely lost its original purpose all that remains of it is a pleasant holiday at the time of the spring blossoming.

Somehow I was in the countryside during one of the last drought years. I saw people, old and young, sitting on the mound of earth outside a peasant hut, and I went up to them. In my heart I assumed that my countrymen were suffering greatly: when there is drought like this, everything burns up, and I wanted to comfort them as best I could and sympathize with them. I said: "It is a great tragedy, my fellow villagers..." "What tragedy?" they asked. "The drought..." In reply I heard: "The state will not allow us to starve." In fact, famine now is no longer a danger to us. But the fact that the farmers have forgotten how to suffer through the vagaries of the weather, even offended me. Either I had aged or the peasant had lost a bit of the feeling of traditional attachment to the land....

 $\sqrt{Q}$ uestion Nonetheless, Mustafa Safich, traditions are more alive in the country-side than in the city.

/Answer/ I would not divide the traditions of the people into "urban" and "rural" traditions. It would be better to talk about the adding of new, moral aspects to old rites. For example, for many years there has been a custom of having a send-off gathering for someone entering the army. But the essence and the emotional atmosphere of this farewell has changed.

Since ancient times our land and people have been known for their hospitality. There was always respect and deference for the person passing through or for the wanderer. In the village a traveler would find that those who were seated would rise and bow to him. This was because even though he was an unknown person, he was a guest. This deference for a guest still exists today. And that is heartening.

New traditions are also heartening. Our countryside was neat and tidy in older times as well as today. You could walk into a home of people who were not wealthy and inside it would be in order, the homemaker would have put her whole heart into keeping the house. You did not wear shoes into a house of this kind, you removed them on the porch. Today the countryside has also become green. Previously there was no particular move to plant trees. This has changed in recent decades. Large homes are being built. They are elegant in their green surroundings. But truly I regret that in these spacious homes there are so few children.

It should be emphasized that rites not only enrich life, they also elevate it morally. And it is good that today we have become wise; rejection of our grandfathers customs and rites weakens the responsibility of one person for another. It is easier to be bad when you are alone; when you are in company there is less inclination to be bad. People among people strive to be better. And from this striving good conduct is born. Rites are mutual promises and obligations; they are the word and deed of one for another; through them you give and receive. In either case you are enriched.

Since long ago young people have found each other at holiday celebrations; young men have chosen brides and girls have chosen husbands. And this is no accident. The beauty of man is manifested in two situations: when he is completely lost in work and when he expresses himself in art. The holiday ceremony is a combination of labor and art. And in these moments a person shows himself especially well; he becomes more handsome, more conspicuous. He and she may not have noticed each other earlier, but now on a holiday or when they are helping each other at work, suddenly they begin to admire and become open to each other....

The customs of every people contain much that is truly good. And may these grains of age-old popular wisdom and experience live longer, bringing benefit and joy to us. In olden times, for example, it was accepted practice to give a traveler food, clothing and even a horse. For the traveler this mean salvation, continuation of the journey. This is a good trait—the giving of presents to a person; it makes both the receiver and the giver glad.

And on the Sabantuy I was thrilled to watch a young fellow skilfully climb a tall pole. In general I am not an envious person; I sat and watched. But I became a little better and even became a little younger. Not everyone can show his skill and strength at the Sabantuy celebrations, but everyone can receive joy and satisfaction. That is also wealth.

And the increase of this wealth is something we should all think about.

8543 CSO: 1800

## ZNANIYE SOCIETY WORKERS SCORED FOR FAILING TO IMPROVE LECTURES

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Jul 82 p 2

 $\overline{A}$ rticle by 0. Kazanli: "To Set Fire With Words: On the Occasion of the Eighth Congress of the All-Union Znaniye Society"

 $\sqrt{\text{Text}}$  The lecturer arrived at the kolkhoz. However, he did not head for the House of Culture, as usual, but went to the farm. And not to talk before the milkmaids. On the contrary, he listened to them. The next day he had a conversation with the specialists, as well as with the kolkhoz members who were owners of their own personal farming allotments. And only after all of this did he get up on the podium.

This is how the lecture "provisions" of the Food Program, adopted by the party, were begun in Krasnodarskiy Kray, thanks to the initiative of the Ust'-Labinskiy Raykom of the CPSU and the local organization of the Znaniye Society. In contrast with the previous practice of having someone read a lecture which was mainly instructive in nature, the scholar-propagandists now begin by studying the state of affairs in the economic unit; they consult, prepare recommendations, and then on the basis of the material which has been obtained, they talk about a concrete issue which is of the most importance and urgency for the given kolkhoz.

Other effective forms of lecture propaganda have developed in the Kuban. For example, the lecture-demonstrations are one example; outstanding workers and innovators in agricultural production go to farms which are producing poorly and, vice versa, invite people from these places to visit them in order to demonstrate as well as talk about progressive labor methods and to share experience.

Every day 70,000 scholars, party and economic-unit employees and specialists in various sectors in our country get up on the podium to tell people about events and phenomena of contemporary life, to explain and evaluate from the party position the essence of the political, economic and cultural processes which are taking place in our country, to kindle the heart with vivid, passionate words which call upon one to live and work in a way that is required by the interests of the Motherland.

It is a high and binding calling! How do the party propagandist-lecturers live up to it? This will be the subject of discussion at the Eighth Congress of the

All-Union Znaniye Society, which opens tomorrow in the Great Kremlin Palace in the capital. The representatives of more than three million lecturers will summarize the results of five years of work; they will discuss the forthcoming tasks and unresolved problems.

In recent years substantial, positive changes have taken place in the lecture work: its link with real life has been strengthened, its ideological-theoretical and scientific level have been raised, and its forms and methods have been improved. The work of the scientific-methodological councils has picked up; more attention is being devoted to training lecturers and to improving their skills. Sociological studies which are being carried out in many regions of the country, in the Baltic republics, the Ukraine, Belorussian, the Moscow area and Bashkiriya, as well as Chelyabinskaya Oblast and the Komi ASSR, make it possible to assert that lecture propaganda has become more aggressive, effective and active in helping party organizations in their work of influencing the masses ideologically and politically, in developing among them a high level of labor activity and in forming a high level of communist conviction. There are many examples of this. They include the lecture component of the various labor initiatives ("Work without Falling Behind" in Rostov-na-Donu, "Manual Labor onto the Shoulders of Machines" in Kuybyshev, "Smaller numbers, more production" in Yaroslavl' and others), the labor cooperation among VUZ's, scientific-research institutes and industrial enterprises (for example, scientist-lecturers from the Moscow Electrotechnical Institute of Communications on the basis of one contract alone give more than 100 lectures to collectives at enterprises, and more than 20 of them have been included in total). The following fact reflects the growing authority of the lecture: it is becoming more and more a personal requirement, a widespread and usual form of cultural activity for people.

Nonetheless, it cannot be said that the restructuring of lecture propaganda is proceeding as the party and time itself require. The essence of the restructuring, as is well known, consists in the avoidance of formalism, a superficial approach, showiness, cliched statements. Freeing the lectures from these "growths" is not a simple process. It can only develop successfully when there is a comprehensive system of measures which has been worked out carefully and is consistently implemented; these are measures aimed, on the one hand, at making the content of the lecture propaganda profound and timely and, on the other hand, they must use forms and methods which are in accordance with the growing spiritual demands and requirements of the people. The directions in which this work must proceed have been determined. One of these directions involves the comprehensive, future planning of subject matter and lecture activity. However, it is being implemented extremely slowly. Frequently it is linked only in a formal way with the plans for the socio-economic development of the regions and the labor collectives. In some organizations of the Znaniye Societ the subject of the lectures goes for years with hardly any change, sometimes only a few changes in formulation occur. Even in Moscow, as the report and election conferences show, work is frequently done according to old plans, and many important problems of social development are not reflected in the lecture propaganda. enumeration of facts, the survey nature of the presentations, the repetition of the well-known positions frequently dominate in an obvious way over analysis and interpretation of that which is taking place in life.

It is not uncommon for future plans to remain only on paper, while the actual lecture work is conducted in spurts of activity and is subject to many influences. The reasons? Primarily lack of persistence on the part of the organizers in fulfilling the targets set for them and passivity in the work of attracting a broad circle of scholars, teachers and people competent in their area who are also good speakers. Scholars and instructors from VUZ's, for example, constitute only 15 percent of the total membership of the Znaniye Society.

Another cause for concern is the old chronic disease of getting carried away with gross output figures. The drive for quantity indicators leads to practices such as listing an informal chat as a lecture or a lecture which never took place as having been given. And it happens that one lecture which was given at a labor collective is accounted for by several agencies, by the Znaniye Society, by the party organization, by the lecture group of the raykom or gorkom and even by the industry's division. In this way the final figure reported is inflated several times over. This kind of white washing is completely intolerable.

Another aspect of the problem is the need for qualitative improvement in the group of lecturers because no matter how good the plan is, it is carried out by people. Quite a bit has been done in this regard. A system has been developed to train and to improve the skills and level of knowledge possessed by the cadres: public certification of lecturers is carried out, and incentives have been developed to encourage those who get up on the podium. If all these measures were carried out creatively and not just for the record, the results could be significant. But here, too, formalism has not been avoided. Is there any benefit to certification which takes place without hearing lectures or criticism, when the committee limits itself to a superficial chat and naturally cannot be fully informed as to the skills of the lecturer? Clearly it cannot be considered an acceptable situation to have, as is the case in a number of oblasts (Arkhangel'skaya, Kalininskaya and Novosibirskaya oblasts), membership in which only 30-40 percent of the individuals have complete or incomplete higher education, and in Kostromskaya Oblast half have only secondary education. The possession of a diploma, of course, is not the only criterion for professionalism in a lecturer, but it is also clear that today one should not get up on the podium unless one has some solid qualifica tions.

Nor is the system of studies adequately arranged. A majority of the lecturers of the first rank, which includes a million people, do not attend the seminars in their own branch of knowledge. And it is people in this category who read up to 80 percent of the lectures. And even those forms of preparation which, it seemed, had shown some vitality—evening universities, schools for the young lecturer, faculties of the public professions—still have not freed themsleves of chronic inadequacies. For example, programs still do not always meet the needs and requirements of the listeners. All this is directly reflected in the quality of the lecture process.

In general the Znaniye Society has in its arsenal a broad selection of forms and methods designed to satisfy the interests of the most varied audiences. Many of these have stood the test of time and are firmly entrenched in the lecturer's working practices. Round table meetings, discussions and debates, evenings of questions and answers, oral journals have all become usual and desired by listeners. The

problem is something different: frequently they differ from each other only in name.

What is the matter? Why is the restructuring proceeding so slowly? References to the force of inertia are not very convincing today: more than three years have passed since the CC CPSU issued its decree "Concerning Improvement in Ideological, Political - Indoctrination Work." The main reason, it seems, is that in many cases this process took a formal path: the strengthening of the link between lecture propaganda and real life is sometimes done superficially, theoretical generalization and serious analysis are sometimes replaced by the appearance of knowledge and convincing debate by the expression of categorical opinion and a general political thesis. The system for improving the skills of lecturers is developing not so much in depth as in breadth; as a result, the overwhelming majority of the lecturers do not have opportunities to master new methods.

This has become especially clear now, when we are approaching the propaganda work for the Food Program, which requires that ideological workers have concrete and profound knowledge and a high level of mastery in working with the masses. In order to give urban and rural workers a clear understanding of present-day economic, social, political and international problems, it is necessary not only to comprehend them profoundly but also to be able to bring all these issues to a specific person. The ways to reach this goal will be the subject of discussion at the forthcoming congress.

8543 CSO: 1800

## NATURE OF CONTEMPORARY NATIONALISM ANALYZED

Moscow FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI in Russian No 3, May-Jun 82 pp 169-171

/ Review by N. A. Berkovich, candidate in philosophical sciences, Department of Philosophy and Scientific Communism of the Leningrad State Institute of Physical Culture imeni P. F. Lesgaft of book "Internationalizm Protiv Natsionalizma" / Internationalism against Nationalism by M. V. Yordan, Nauka, Moscow, 264 pages /

Text The struggle between proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism is one of the essential expressions of the conflict between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and capitalism. It is therefore natural that it is increasingly attracting the attention of students of social and political problems. This question has become the subject of examination in the book under review. It is distinguished by the author's endeavor to find new approaches to an analysis of the problems which have repeatedly been treated in works on a Marxist-Leninist theory of nations and national relations.

Analyzing the causes which give rise to bourgeois nationalism, the author correctly calls attention to the fact its genesis is inseparably connected with a struggle between the national detachments of the bourgeoisie. It is emphasized in the book that although at all of the stages of its dominion the bourgeoisie has actively made use of nationalism as a means of splitting the working class and the other detachments of the workers, this does not annulathe fact that emergence of bourgeois nationalism has to be connected in the first place with an intra-class struggle in the camp of the bourgeoisie with a struggle which takes the form of international contradictions.

Studying the essential features of nationalism, M. V. Yordan validly polemicizes with those who define bourgeois nationalism as the ideology and politics of the bourgeoisie in the nationalities question. In this connection it is noted that bourgeois nationalism should be regarded as the ideology and politics of the bourgeoisie in the social question, which becomes especially noticeable at the imperialist stage of the evolution of capitalism.

Moving to a study of proletarian internationalism, the author clarifies the connection between the ideology of all the workers and the objective foundations of social life, particularly with the process of internationalization, the most adequate expressor of whose demands is the working class. Proletarian internationalism is briefly defined in the work as the policy of the international unification of social forces on the basis of the proletarian-class characteristic; it is nothing other than a form of proletarian class.

A functional definition of proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism is given in the work. In it the idea of the fundamental opposition between these phenomena finds a rich expression. "The basic feature of bourgeois nationalism," M. V. Yordan writes, "is the isolation of social forces (within the framework of individual nations) which is necessarily connected with the separating of these forces according to nationality, while the basic feature of proletarian internationalism is the unification of social forces which is in no way connected with their separation according to nationality." (page 40)

A positive solution of the problems which are at the center of the ideological conflict and with which the opponents of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are attempting to make illegitimate gains should be regarded as a highly important task of Marxists in the struggle against bourgeois ideology. Among these problems, the author rightly includes the problem of the nation as a social-ethnic community of people.

The author has correctly chosen that aspect of the problem which is most frequently distorted by bourgeois theoreticians of national relations. We mean the ethnic aspect of the national community which reflects its cultural and historical uniqueness and which bourgeois scholars absolutize in order to depreciate or ignore the social-class side of the nation. For this reason, the author's attention to a clarification of the relationship between the social and the ethnic in the national community is entirely justified. Understanding the national community as an internally dismembered formation one of whose sides reflects its concrete historical content, while the other reflects the specific nature of the integration of this content, M. V. Yordan comes to the important, in our view, conclusion that "the social and the ethnic in a nation are in a relationship of dialectical interpenetration: The social is ethnic, and the ethnic is social." And immediately he adds: "In the nation the ethnic is social in content, while the social is ethnic in form." (page 64)

The author demonstrates the methodological importance of defining the nation as a socio-ethnic community and on the basis of concrete examples proves its fruitfulness for an analysis of issues which are politically and ideologically important in our time, particularly for a Marxist analysis of divided nations.

The author sees the importance of this approach in the fact that the thesis

of the nation as a socio-ethnic community "works" effectively, performing the function of a theoretical and methodological tool in coming to know and investigating problems of national relations which have not yet been sufficiently interpretated and have been little worked.

While one can speak about a tribe, people, and a nation as being equally socio-ethnic communities, the essential specific quality of a nation, in the opinion of M. V. Yordan, consists in the fact that it is an ethnic international community. The essence of the author's arguments on this question consists in the following.

A nation which contains within itself the action of tendencies towards self-development and internationalization for a time holds onto its wholeness. But then, under the infleunce of intensifying processes of internationalization, it loses it, revealing, at the same time, the diverse thrusts of its aspects. One of them (ethnic) remains oriented toward the retention of the integrity of the national community, while the other, which reflects its inter-national and international aspect is oriented without. It is in view of this contradictoriness that the author regarded it as possible to define the nation as an ethnic international being. And this is entirely justified, since this definition most clearly characterizes the nation as a transitional community from the pre-national to the actually international communities.

It is deserving of attention that for the first time in our literature the relationships between large and small nations and the special characteristics of the manifestation in them of nationalism (under capitalism) is examined in such detail with such thoroughness. And this is one of the virtues of the work under review. Lenin's idea regarding the necessity of differentiating the nationalism of big and small nations which he expressed in the work "Toward the Question of Nationalities or About 'Autonomatization'" (V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Volume 45, pages 356-362) has served the author as the starting point for his analysis of this problem.

On the basis on a large amount of factual, concrete historical material the author has succeeded in showing the essential features which distinguish nationalism under capitalism in each of above-named groups of nations. It is emphasized in the work that nationalism in large nations is characterized by an orientation outwards, to other peoples, while a directly opposite tendency is typical of the nationalism of small nations. This kind of behavior by big and small nations (or rather of the forces which carry out national policy) is connected by the author with the varying reactions of dominant nations to internationalization of the capitalist type. It is internationalization of this type, in the author's opinion, which is the real reason which under capitalism engenders relations between large and small nations which are like the relations that exist between oppressor and oppressed nations.

Thus, the concept of oppressor and oppressed nations is refined. Differences in accordance with the magnitude of communities are included in it as a component element. But, of course, only in the event that these communities find themselves in a system of antagonistic national relations.

Under socialism the situation changes in a fundamental way. Under socialism the past opposition of nations and their division into oppressor and oppressed is destroyed, including such a variety of this opposition as the division of nations into big and small ones on a basis of the political characteristics. The division of nations into big and small ones on the basis of the ethnodemographic characteristic (size of population, size of territory), of course, remains. And this line of the analysis can be clearly traced in the work.

We also see a virtue of the work in the fact that despite the author's preferred attention to the theoretical aspect of the monograph's problem, it contains an organic connection between its theoretical theses and the needs of the international and patriotic education of the workers, and it also gives a well-grounded critique of individual manifestations of nationalism and national nihilism.

At the same time, the work is not free of certain shortcomings. First of all, the author has not succeeded in describing everything in equal depth. Certain theses remain undeveloped. In particular, the criterion for dividing nations into big and small ones looks to us incomplete. It should also be pointed out that the treatment of concrete survivals in the field of national relations does not make use of the results of the ethno-sociological studies which have been conducted in a number of the country's republics. Individual pages are overloaded with citations. In places one feels a fragmentariness in the exposition and there are stylistic infelicities (for example, page 47, 133, and others).

However, the work as a whole leaves the impression of a solid study. And this impression is strengthened by the fact that its author has not avoided the posing and analysis of a number of controversial issues. Of undoubted interest in this connection are his opinions regarding the reasons for the retention under socialism of the survivals of nationalism and chauvinism, and also of various kinds of deviations from the principles of socialist internationalism which are sometimes capable of taking on a nationalistic coloring.

Written from clear class and party positions and on a high ideological theoretical level, the monograph, in our opinion, makes a definite contribution to the solution of important problems of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the nation and of national relations. This book will be read with interest both by specialists in the field of national relations and by lecturers, propagandists and teachers. The rich material which is set forth in it will be of unquestionable assistance in the practice of the

international and patriotic education of the workers.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Vysshaya shkola", "Filosofskiye nauki", 1982

2959

CSO:1800/650

## REGIONAL

TAJIK LAND RECLAMATION MINISTER DISCUSSES PROBLEMS, GOALS

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 6 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Kh. Nasredinov, minister of Tajik SSR Land Reclamation and Water Resources: "Side by Side with the Farmer"]

[Text] Irrigated plowland yields large, stable yields of agricultural crops. Back in the dawn of the Soviet regime, V.I. Lenin directed attention to Turkestan and its rich water resources and favorable climate conditions and signed the Decree on Further Expansion of Irrigated Land in this region. Since then 64 years have passed. And all this time the further development of irrigation, especially in the republics of Central Asia, remained at the center of attention of the party and the government. Irrigated fields in our republic alone exceeded 640,000 hectares.

A particularly strong push to further accelerate carrying out of irrigation and land-reclamation work was given by the May (1966) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which adopted a comprehensive program of wide-scale land reclamation, guaranteeing an increase in the production of agricultural products regardless of weather conditions. In subsequent years, 1,829,000,000 rubles were allocated for land reclamation in our republic, including 1,741,000,000 rubles for water management.

The years since the indicated Plenum have been characterized by a rapid growth of the tempi and scale of land-reclamation work, introduction of scientific-technical progress into land reclamation and creation of collectives of many thousands for water-management construction projects and a powerful modern production base for such construction organizations as Glavtadzhikstroy and Tadzhikir-sovkhozstroy of the USSR Ministry of Water Resources, which introduced into agricultural use more than 200,000 hectares of new irrigated land. Great is the contribution of the collective of Tadzhikgiprovodkhoz Institute which has worked out plans of integrated development of new land.

Land reclamation is accompanied by major social and economic changes in the life of the countryside. During these years, there have appeared on the map of the republic new regions, and settlement of the urban type have been built and continue to be erected with cultural and trade centers, schools and hospitals.

Much work has been done in developing new land and improving the condition of reclamation of old-irrigated land in the republic. But much still remains to be done. The food program adopted by the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee provides for further enhancement of the role of land reclamation in increasing production of agricultural products. This applies not only to the opening up of new but also to more effective utilization of existing irrigated land and growth of the yield of agricultural crops cultivated on it. A reliable ally to farmers in the fulfillment of this task is to be found in land-reclamation personnel. We must constantly improve the operational service of both interfarm and intrafarm irrigation systems.

Water-management organs have already included more than 580,000 hectares of irrigated land for technical servicing and a considerable number of intrafarm electrified pumping stations and vertical-drainage holes. The question is in process of being solved of including in technical servicing all irrigated areas, pumping stations and other land-improvement structures on the balance sheets of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The total volume of maintenance and operational work at land-improvement sites exceeds 33 million rubles.

The process of establishment of an operational service is very complicated. The carrying out of comprehensive operational measures for the entire irrigated area accepted for technical servicing presented to us a whole series of interconnected problems. In the immediate future, it will be necessary to obtain an increase in the number of maintenance-construction organizations, improvement in the organization of operating them, centralization of load hauls, consequently concentration of motor transport, reduction of cost of operation of irrigation systems and in this connection raising of their technical level. We should also bolster the operational services with qualified cadres, provide them with equipment and material resources and create our own production base and housing.

One of the most important in a series of problems is the creation of a planning and production organization that would take care of all needs in connection with the operation of irrigation systems and bring them up to today's level with complete automation and remote control of water distribution and water drain-off in large areas.

Irrigation water-management organizations will do a large volume of work during this five-year plan putting new irrigated land into operation. It is necessary to introduce into agricultural turnover no less than 53,000 hectares of virgin land; of these, 12,000 hectares are to be turned over this year. During the lith Five-Year Plan there will go into operation the first section of the land of the Beshkentskaya Valley; work is continuing at an accelerated pace on irrigation of the land of Dangarinskaya and Ashtskaya steppes as well as the Karadumskiy area; construction of the Nizhne-Kafirniganskoye Water Reservoir will begin. Major work is to be done on further reconstruction of existing irrigation systems, flooding of pasturages, capital planning of fields and construction of various cultural-everyday and operational facilities. This year 130 million rubles have been allocated for these purposes.

In connection with the decisions of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, we have worked out together with the Ministry of Agriculture measures for

improving the reclaimed condition and putting into agriculture turnover 5,000 hectares of presently unused irrigation land that was readied for irrigation. At the same time, at a number of farms in Kurgan-Tyubinskaya and Kulybskaya oblasts, Gorno-Badakhshanskaya Autonomous Oblast and rayons of republic subordination within the limits of existing irrigation, opening up is proceeding of small land sectors that will be used for the planting of cotton, fodder crops, potatoes and orchards. According to our calculations, the addition to the irrigated area from such sectors will exceed 3,000 hectares over the fiveyear period.

Taking into consideration the shortage of available land suited for development, our ministry is doing work on an experimental basis of developing flood-plain and pebbled as well as "priadyrnaya" and "adyrnaya" [foothills and hills] land on steep slopes involving the use of synchronously pulsed sprinkler irrigation. This new system of irrigation for growing fodder crops on sloping land has already produced positive results.

At the same time, land improvers together with farmers should take all the necessary measures for increasing the yield of already used irrigated plowland and for further increasing growth in the yield of agricultural crops. The most difficult and responsible in the complex of agrotechnical techniques is watering—its time periods, quality and frequency. At the same time, water is not being used economically everywhere. On some farms in Kurgan—Tyubinskaya and Kulyabskaya oblasts and Gissarskaya Valley, the above—plan water intake at the height of the irrigation season amounts to 20-30 percent. In this connection a shortage of water is created. Moreover, excessive application of water to fields contributes to a rise in the level of ground water, silting of drainage and collector network, and all this results in deterioration of the improved condition of the land and its removal from agricultural turnover.

The decisions of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee have provided us with a clear-cut program of further work. The republic's land improvers are doing everything possible to see to it that irrigated plowland operates with greater yield.

7697

CSO: 1830/388

REGIONAL

TAJIK SUPREME SOVIET DISCUSSES PERSISTENCE OF OLD RITUALS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Surkov, Dushanbe: "Tajik SSR"]

[Text] How requirements of legislation on marriage and family were being observed in village soviets of Khanaka in Gissarskiy Rayon and Karasu in Ordzhonikidze-abadskiy Rayon was a question examined at a meeting of the Presidium of Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet. Reports were heard by the ispolkom chairmen of the village soviets A. Ergashev and M. Negmatov as well as a report by the Juridical Department of the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet on the results of on-site checks.

The Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet noted that commissions for introducing into everyday life new civil customs and rituals have been created under ispolkoms of village soviets. Together with organs of the civil registry office, management of farms and the public, they organize celebrations on reaching of age, triumphal registration of marriages and newborn, honoring of veterans and inductions as workers and kolkhoz farmers....

But there are still many defects in the operation of the village soviets of Khanaka and Karasu, as shown by a check. The commissions for the introduction of new customs and rituals do not have clear-cut plans of work. The village soviets do not conduct wide-scale explanations of the legislation on marriage and family.

Cases still occur of marriage ceremonies performed according to the old obsolete laws, denigrating human dignity.

In the adopted decree, the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet ordered the village soviets of Khanaka and Karasu to work out and implement measures for the unconditional observance of the requirements of the legislation on marriage and family and to intensify the struggle against vestiges of the past. The ispolkoms of the Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy and Gissarskiy rayon soviets were instructed to improve their supervision of the village soviets.

The session was conducted by Chairman of the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet M. Kholov.

7697

CSO: 1830/388

## RUSSIAN LEADERSHIP OF ALL SLAVS URGED IN 17TH CENTURY BOOK

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 May 82 p 3

[Article by E. Zhulinskaya, studio chief in the Department of Philosophy of the Kiev Pedagogical Institute: "A Book Which is Ahead of Its Time"]

[Text] The book "Politika" by Yu. Krizhanich came into my hands in the library. I began to read it from curiosity, but then could not tear myself away from it. I am interested in history in general, but until now I had heard nothing about this talented Slavic publicist.

## A. Lusnov, Khar'kov

Yuriy Krizhanich was an extraordinarily interesting personality. He was a philosopher, historian, economist, legal scholar, linguist, and publicist. For more than 100 years his works have been attracting the attention of readers and scholars. Krizhanich lived in the Russian state for 18 years, and for 15 of them in exile, in Tobol'sk. Here, in Siberia, he wrote "Politika" (1663-1665), the "Slavic Grammar" and others.

A careful acquaintance with the history of various peoples and countries and a detailed study over a period of many years of the historical past of the Russian state made it possible for Krizhanich to create his basic work "Politika" especially for the Russian reader for the purpose of helping to transform Russian society.

The idea of the unity of the Slavic peoples had long ago entered into the literature of all of the Slavs. It moves like a red thread through the work of Krizhanich. It is especially important that he did not limit himself to a proclamation of this idea, but outlined concrete practical ways for its realization. He pointed out that the unification had to be carried out from some political center. He believed that this center could be Moscow and he emphasized that it was Rus' that would lead the Slavic peoples and that they would be able to "stand up and number themselves among the peoples." He assigns the chief role to Russia which is supposed to become the bulwark for all Slavs. In 1654 the reunification of the Ukraine with Russia took place, with Krizhanich as an active participant in this movement.

"Politika" provided a broad social transformational program of which Russia was in such need. This large system of the scholar's views embraced literally all of the branches of the economy. His contemporaries were not able to properly evaluate Krizhanich whose works lay in Moscow archives for around two centuries and found their readers only in the 19th century.

Krizhanich passionately believed in the future of Russia, and his ideas were taken up in the 19th century by prominent leaders of the liberation movement of the Balkan peoples.

2959

CSO: 1800/679

KAZAKH SUPREME SOVIET MEETS IN REGULAR SESSION

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 May 82 p 1

[ Unattributed report: "In the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] A meeting of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place 20 May. A report was delivered by S.A. Akkoziyev, chairman of the Dzhambul oblispolkom, on the course of preparations for the elections to the local soviets of working people's deputies amd the rayon (and city) people's judges in the oblast.

It was noted at the meeting that in Dzhambulskaya Oblast much work is being done to prepare for the elections. The election campaign is taking place in an atmosphere of high political and labor activity by the masses and a persistent struggle to successfully implement the socioeconomic program of the 26th CPSU Congress and the decisions of the KaSRR Communist Party 25th Congress, and it is being carried out in accordance with the laws of the KaSSR. Electoral districts and polling stations have been set up in good time. All 499 polling stations have been provided with means of communications and have at their disposal the necessary documentation and materials for holding the elections in an organized manner.

District and sector electoral commissions made up of more than 18,000 representatives from public organizations and labor collectives, in close contact with the agitation collectives and the cultural and educational establishments, have started their work among the voters. Lectures and talks are being held on the USSR Constitution and the KaSSR Constitution, socialist democracy, CPSU domestic and foreign policy, and the features of the upcoming elections. Meetings are being held everywhere to nominate candidate deputies for the local soviets and people's courts. The lists of voters are being accurately drawn up. The executive committees, soviet deputies and people's judges are delivering their accounts of their work.

The presidium adopted an approrpriate decree on the matter under discussion.

A report was heard from E.K. Kadyrzhanov, chairman of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet Permanent Commission for Industry, on the results of an examination of the question of the work of the KaSSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy in introducing new equipment and progressive technology and making rational use of raw materials and material resources in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium examined and adopted appropriate decrees on the work of the soviets of working people's deputies in Kzyl-Ordinskaya Oblast on presenting their recommendations for the "Labor Veteran" medals and organizing the presentations, and on the work of the Enbekshikazakhskiy ispolkom of the rayon soviet of working peoples deputies in Alma-Atinskaya Oblast in complying with legislation on the struggle against speculation and other questions.

9642

CSO: 1830/392

## REGIONAL

## ADJARIAN RAYON OFFICIALS DISCUSS NEW AGRO-SYSTEM IN ACTION

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 11 June 1982 page 2 carries a 1600-word article by M. Gorgiladze under the recurring agrocomplex rubric "Innovation's 1000 Facets" concerning the operation and effectiveness of the new system in Adjaria's Khelvachauri Rayon, which specializes in citrus and other subtropical crops but is also concerned with livestock, meat, and vegetable endeavors (including private plot and auxiliary farm operations). Rayon First Secretary S. Inaishvili, Ispolkom Chairman R. Bakradze, and Agricultural Production Association Council Chairman A. Bolkvadze are quoted. All agree that the new system has done away with the "narrowly departmental barriers" that hampered coordinated production and processing in the past, also that the Abasha incentive method and the practice of personal plot assignment are certain to ensure that those who work more productively will be more prosperous. A number of shortcomings and problems are mentioned: The planning organs are sometimes guilty of "formalism" in deciding how much is to be produced, without taking land and level of development into account; some farms are slacking and letting the more industrious ones carry the load; there are snags in acquiring and transporting mineral and organic fertilizers; and tea processing facilities can't keep up with production.

## GEORGIAN FARM EXPERT DISCUSSES ROLE OF INCENTIVES, PAY

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 8 June 1982 page 2 carries a 1200-word article by Economics Candidate B. Kereselidze, head of the Labor Organization and Pay Sector of the Scientific-Research Institute for Economics and Organization of Agriculture, concerning the best forms of labor pay and incentives to ensure that productivity rises faster than wages. Studies have found that the system of job-bonus and piecework-bonus with time advance works best, including payment in kind. Some problems have been encountered, however: in particular, some farm officials pass out bonuses indiscriminately, regardless of individual contribution, and in some cases bonuses are awarded on the basis of overfulfilling plans that have been understated in the first place. Another key factor in farm pay and incentives is the proper correlation of centralized regulation, on the one hand, and increased initiative of local executives, on the other.

## ELECTION OF GEORGIAN SOVIETS, PEOPLE'S JUDGES EXPLAINED

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 13 June 1982 page 2 carries two items on the upcoming elections (20 June) of soviet deputies and people's judges, which happen to coincide this year (deputies are elected for 2.5-year terms, judges for 5).

Professor Gr. Eremov's 1000-word article explains how the local soviets work: the duties of the quarterly sessions, the permanent (sector-based) commissions, and the individual deputies. The constitutional foundations of the soviets and their organs and personnel are outlined by reference to the specific laws governing their election and functions, and the progress that has been made in advancing socialist democratism is noted. All-union and Georgian figures are given on numbers of districts and deputies to be elected, also procedures for nomination. All citizens 18 or over can vote, except for persons certified insane by the appropriate organs.

A 1300-word piece by Professor Dr Jur A. Paliashvili discusses the vital functions of the people's court system (that is, not only to judge cases and mete out justice but also to serve the interests of prevention and indoctrination), who is eligible to be nominated as judges and people's assessors [zasedateli] (persons 25 years of age or older), the kinds of social and official organs that can nominate them, and so on. A brief passage contrasts the Soviet court system with those characteristic of capitalist countries. All court proceedings are open to the public for citizens 16 or older, except in cases involving state secrets or highly intimate personal details that must not be allowed to become public knowledge.

CSO: 1813/741

END